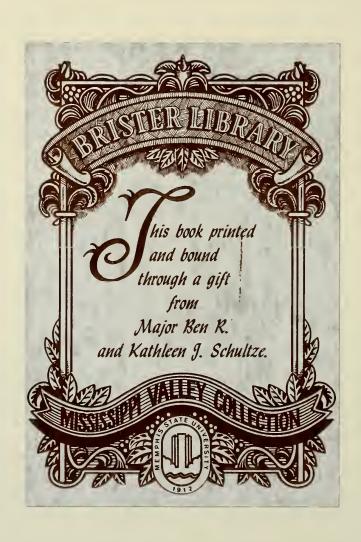
ORAL HISTORY OF THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY INTERVIEW WITH DR. EARLE SUMMER DRAPER

BY - CHARLES W. CRAWFORD
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BY CHARLES W. CRAWFORD

ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH OFFICE

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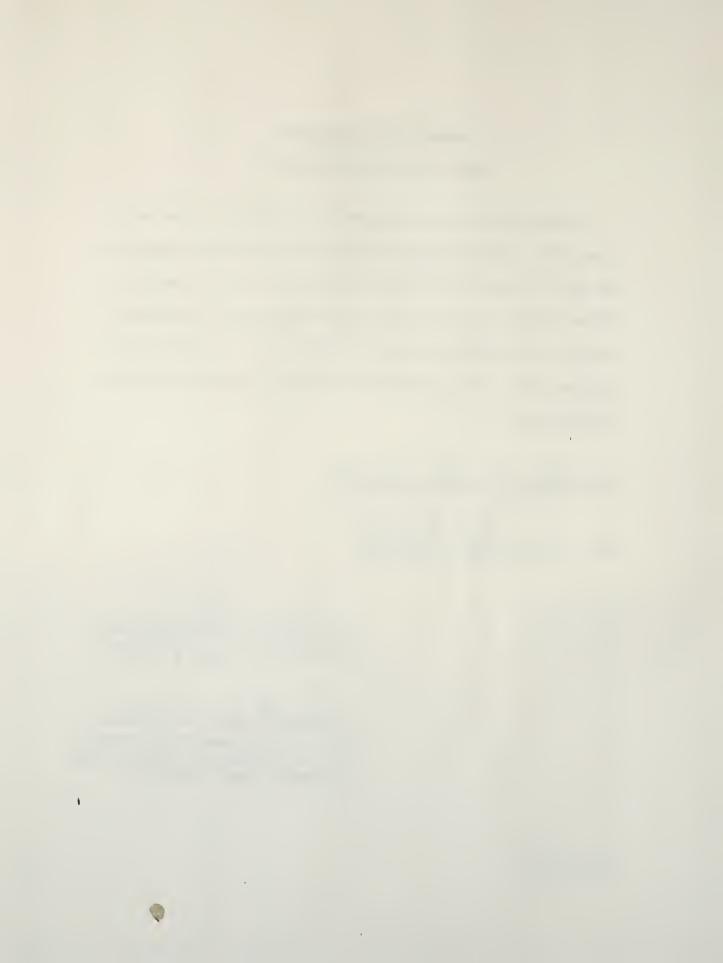
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ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH OFFICE

I hereby release all right, title, or interest in and to all of my tape-recorded memoirs to the Mississippi Valley Archives of the John Willard Brister Library of Memphis State University and declare that they may be used without any restriction whatsoever and may be copyrighted and published by the said Archives, which also may assign said copyright and publication rights to serious research scholars.

DATE December 30,1969.

(For the Mississippi Valley Archives of the John Willard Brister Library of Memphis State University)



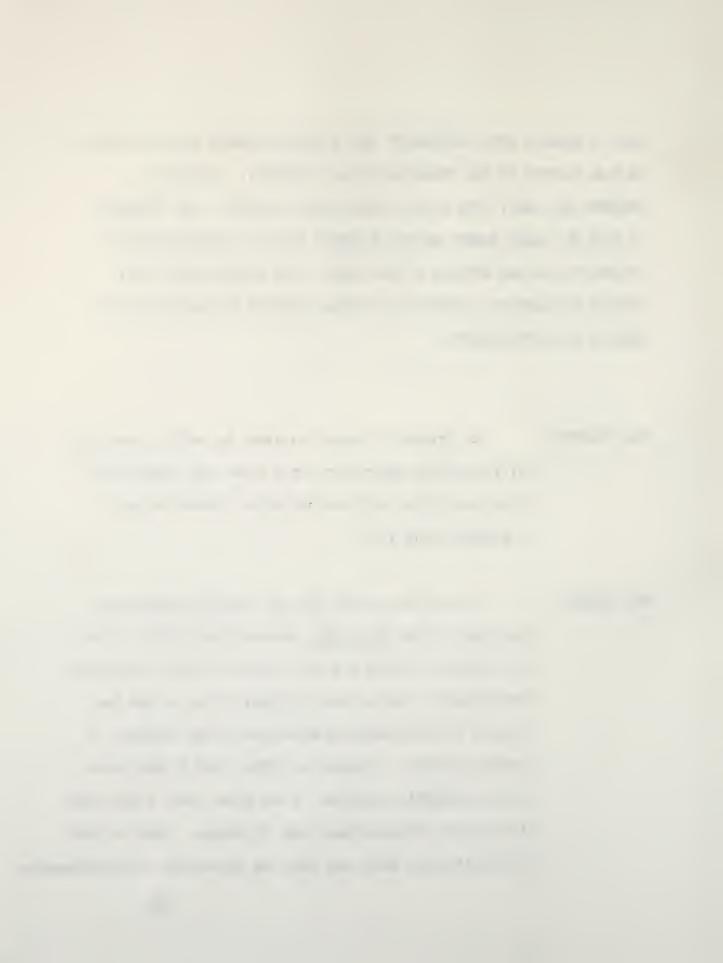
THIS IS MEMPHIS STATE UNIVERSITY ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH OFFICE PROJECT, AN ORAL HISTORY OF THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY. THE DATE IS DECEMBER 30, 1969. THE PLACE IS VERO BEACH, FLORIDA. THE INTERVIEW IS WITH DR. EARLE SUMNER DRAPER, FORMERLY WITH THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY, AND NOW RETIRED AT VERO BEACH. THE INTERVIEWER IS DR. CHARLES W. CRAWFORD, DIRECTOR OF THE ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH OFFICE AT MEMPHIS STATE UNIVERSITY.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Dr. Draper, I suggest we start by getting some sort of information about your early life, your background, your experience, and your education, before becoming associated with TVA.

DR. DRAPER:

I think you can get most of that and probably in more detail from Who's Who, recorded from 1932 on. But I was educated at what was then the Land Grant Institution, Massachusetts Agricultural College, in one of the few courses in landscaping architecture in the country. I graduated with a BS degree in 1915. That is the extent of my scholastic training. A few years later I had about four months of travel and study in Europe. Then in 1950 my institution, which was then the University of Massachusetts,



gave me an honorary doctorate.

After leaving Massachusetts I went to work for John Nolen, one of the few city planners in the country, offices at Cambridge, Massachusetts, and shortly thereafter was sent to Charlotte, North Carolina, as his southern representative with two major projects: one was a large scale subdivision in the Charlotte area, principally Myers Park. The other was at the city of Kingsport, Tennessee, on which he prepared preliminary plans, and which I completed. Then continued a relationship in supervision of development of Kingsport for a number of years, first as his representative, and later in my own private practice.

I entered private practice in 1917, with the blessing of John Nolen, who was still active in Cambridge, with headquarters in Charlotte, North Carolina. And due to circumstances, I developed a rather large landscape architectural and city planning practice in the southeast with offices in Charlotte and Atlanta. A good part of our work concerned the planning of new towns, principally for textile mills, although we had a wide range of activity in the city planning and landscaping architectural field, extending from Baltimore in the North to the Gulf states in the South.

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At the inception of the period of the Depression in 1932, my office was still active, although considerably reduced in personnel. I happened to be staying at the Cosmos Club in late May of 1933, when I had a call from Charlotte saying that a Dr. Arthur Morgan wanted to contact me to discuss the TVA, of which he had just been appointed Chairman. He was told that I was at the Cosmos Club. He was at the Washington Hotel. He had called over there and came over to see me at 10:30 that evening. Then after some discussion, and of course, subject to further references, he asked if I would accept the post of Director of Town Planning and Housing at TVA. And I asked for time to consider it.

I went back to Charlotte and looked over our activities. We had about enough work for a year ahead even during the Depression. And I decided that it was probably the greatest opportunity that would ever be afforded in this country in the field of town planning and regional planning. So I left my office to an associate with the expectation that I might be gone a few years and would then return. I notified Dr. Morgan that I would accept the post. He asked for the usual references and I gave him a number of clients with whom I had worked in the South, which were apparently satisfactory. I was shown copies of letters, and they were

rather laudatory.

So early in June I came to Washington, (staying at the Cosmos Club for that summer), and went to work. At that time the other two Directors had not been appointed and Dr. Morgan had cleared my appointment with the White House. And there were two others working with him: Carl Bock, who has since died, who was his principal assistant in the Miami conservancy activities; and Floyd Reeves, who was to be Personnel Director. Our headquarters were a double bedroom in the Washington Hotel, and our filing system consisted of laying the papers on the double beds that were there. We first had a small suite of offices in the old Interior Building. I had to drop most of the investigation work for a while in connection with seeking personnel. Reeves and I worked together on that.

At that time it was the depth of the Depression, which was almost pitiful. We had applications from men who had commanded very high salaries in the engineering, architectural, and other fileds who were willing to work for as low as \$200.00 a month to get employment and to become associated with TVA. We spent a busy summer getting the original employment set up—getting it cleared in various ways. I recall several visits to the White House for Dr. Morgan in connection with appointments that he wanted approved by

the President. There was, I might state, absolutely no politics in the early selections nor in any later ones that I know of. There was never even any interest that I had to give political consideration to a selection. As a matter of fact I had been registered as a Republican in North Carolina when I was selected to the post, although later I changed my registration because I became sold on the Rooseveltian policies.

I cite that as an instance to show that politics in accordance with the proscription in the Act had no part to play. The activities went on from offices in the old temporary F Building in Washington, where we had contacts with many agencies, cabinet members, and others in connection with the setting up of the Authority. I recall the plane trips with the Secretary of the Army and various other top officials in looking over the TVA area from Washington.

We moved our offices to Knoxville at the end of the summer leaving only a liaison office in Washington, and started with the originally selected personnel on the work we had to do. If Dr. Morgan hadn't mentioned this I think that this selection of Knoxville was due to his feeling that it was in the center of the area that from the human standpoint and from the standpoint of low income needed the

help that might come from TVA, to a greater extent than other cities. It had originally been expected that Muscle Shoals would be the headquarters. Did he bring that out in the discussion?

DR. CRAWFORD:

I don't know that he did, but I am familiar with that, sir. As a matter of fact I thought that the Act specified Muscle Shoals.

DR. DRAPER:

Well, the Act in a way did, but Dr. Morgan got around that by establishing an office at Muscle Shoals where the official seal and headquarters were situated, but the working administrative headquarters were in Knoxville.

For a long time I think the Alabama Congressmen didn't like the idea but at any event it was carried on in that way.

Our first major objective, once we had a minimum personnel, (and of course we kept on recruiting for a long time over a period of years), was the initial progress of Norris Dam.

That was the major activity to start, while we never lost sight of the other activities which could be undertaken under section 22 or 23. Are you familiar with that in the Act?

DR. CRAWFORD:

With the other responsibilities of TVA?

DR. DRAPER:

The other responsibilities, social and economical benefits flowing from it and so forth. The first thing that had to be gotten going was the building of Norris Dam which we took over from the Army engineers, who had made the preliminary surveys. At that time there were very few actual employees and Dr. Morgan asked me to make the initial contacts with Colonel Neyland, who was heading up the Army work. Then I met him and he officially turned over the records they had on their land takings and so forth in the Norris reservoir area.

The biggest job we had was the building of a camp and related community to enable the Norris Dam operations to proceed on schedule. As I recall in September of that year, '33, I was given that responsibility to plan and build the camp and the community, and was told that the camp had to be in working order for the employment of up to a thousand people by January 1. We had a terrific job of planning to do because we were determined that the community should depart from the usual squalid conditions around dams that had existed under the Army and the Department of Interior and the various dams that had been built. We located the camp site and two-story buildings, a cafeteria, and so forth on top of the hill. And actually had that completed, furnished, in working order just after

Christmas of that year. At the same time the planning of the town was going on, and we at that time were working on the basis that we could develop a garden city type of community with protection that comes through agriculture and open spaces around the town to house as many as several thousand people, and made plans to that effect. The plans are still in existence for a very large area—several square miles.

Due to differences of opinion, I think largely on the Board, with respect to the extent that we could go in that sort of an operation, it was finally determined that our actual construction would be limited in the town of Norris to the expenditure of funds equivalent to what would normally be spent housing workers, or the number required to build a dam of that size. And I think that actually resulted in the cutting down of the actual construction to something under three hundred houses, including the camp. In a way that was a disappointment because we had hoped to make a larger demonstration of town planning that would be-would serve as an example for the country. But we worked within that limit and within the scope of what we were allowed, and attempted to embody the best town planning techniques and what we thought would make the most livable community. We built the town around a village

green, which is still in existence, with various community activities located therein. And the principal building was a rather large school. I recall we placed the largest order for brick for that school building that had ever been given in Tennessee at that time, with the Kingsport Brick Company. It happened to be at Kingsport where I had worked with Johnson, the head of the brick company for many years on the development of Kingsport.

In the building of the town we ran into related problems. We wanted to use the native labor and as many native
materials as possible. And we were particularly careful
that the design of the houses should reflect the tone of
the area. We did not think, and the hilly characteristics
bore us out, that we could follow such a principle as
the Radburn Plan in New Jersey, which had consisted of
various courts and group housings semi-detached. Although
we did attempt to locate the houses so that there were no
houses facing directly on the traveled road, and we had
little courts and with separate paths. All through Norris
there were separate paths for pedestrians and bicycles
with overpasses over the road so as to separate the
vehicular traffic and foot traffic.

In the architecture we used native materials, for roofing



we used native shakes. The mountaineers had been accustomed during the winter periods when they couldn't farm to split and cut the shakes. And we had a delivered price and we had millions of shakes delivered to us, which was a great help to the economy of that area during that period. We had several experimental houses of different types including one of the first houses built of steel furnished by the Armco people, which was very expensive per square foot, and developed a number of problems including rusting and so forth. So the native materials worked out very well. We called in numerous consultants to check with us as we went on with the town planning and the architectural fields. We has as one of our principal architectural consultants the great Finnish architect from Detroit. What was his name? I can't think of it now. I will think of his name directly, who came down and spent several days with us. Eliel Saarimen. He has died and his son has died. He wrote me a letter saying that he was sending me some sketches but he hoped we wouldn't use them because he felt that the plans we had in borrowing native materials and housing that would fit into the East Tennessee hills was very satisfactory.

During the early periods when I was setting up the architectural group in our organization, Dr. A. E. Morgan

had recommended an architect who had worked with him,

Lous Grandjent, who was technically head of our architectural
group and a very conscientious architect. I also brought
in an architect, Roland Wank, whom I met on a trip to New
York, a Hungarian by birth, and one of the most gifted
architects that I have ever met. He had the title of
Principal Architect and had a roving commission. I recall
the part that he played in connection with the architectural design of dams and power houses, which Dr. Morgan in
his wisdom, asked us to undertake so that he could see what
we would do on such a thing.

Now, dams and power houses in those days were developed and ornamented with a Greek design or a Gothic design or something like that to make them what they thought was attractive. Wank and I agreed that that was artificial. And largely due to Wank, we developed a type of architecture that has since been repeated on major architectural structures in this country. It was the smooth use of concrete without embellishment in the form that you see in the dams and the power houses of the Valley, and which later in a review by the Architectural Forum was considered to be one of the most important design contributions ever made to architecture in this country. And I gave Wank full credit for that.

We also used the airplane in laying our routes through the Valley, and in particular the connectrion from all crossroads from North Knoxville to the dams site. And to the railhead near Lafavette northwest of the site. It is an interesting fact that we were told that the normal procedure would be for the engineers to build a railroad from the railhead, I think that was Coal Creek, to the dam at a distance of some five or six miles. And if we could show that the amount of money necessary to build that could be better used for a highway, from which the trucks would bring materials from the railhead to the dam and to all crossroads in Knoxville, then the Board would very likely authorize the highway to be built rather than a rail connection. Within that limitation we worked out one of the most scenic roads that has been built in that section of the country, over the low hills, from the foot of the Cumberland range, at Coal Creek to Norris and from Norris some twenty miles into the north edge of Knoxville.

At that time there had been developed a type of parkway known as a freeway in Westchester County around urban areas. And with the help of our division I conceived the idea that we could build a freeway which would be about thirty miles long and protect the access without the intrusion of non-descript construction of the nuisance type along the road. We didn't have money enough to buy the land all the way



through but with the help of one of the foremost zoning lawyers in the country, Beckman of Cincinnati, we worked out an agreement whereby we acquired the freeway right-ofway all the way from North Knoxville through Norris and to Coal Creek, a distance of about thirty miles, with sole rights of ingress, egress, and access for which we paid a dollar minimum sum to the landowner. We gave the landowner continued right to grow agricultural crops along that freeway which varied in width from a few hundred feet to a thousand feet, but protected us against billboards or structures and I assume that persists to this day. It gave us one of the most attractive highways that was ever built to and from railheads and cities to dams. And with that style it was the first rural freeway built in the United States. It was later adapted for use in the same way to the other dams that were built along with the Tennessee Valley to give the protection.

We used the airplane in plotting the location of the highway from Halls crossroad, to the dam, to Coal Creek and I think that is one of the first times that low level flying had established the general location of a highway route.

We used the town of Norris for various experimental

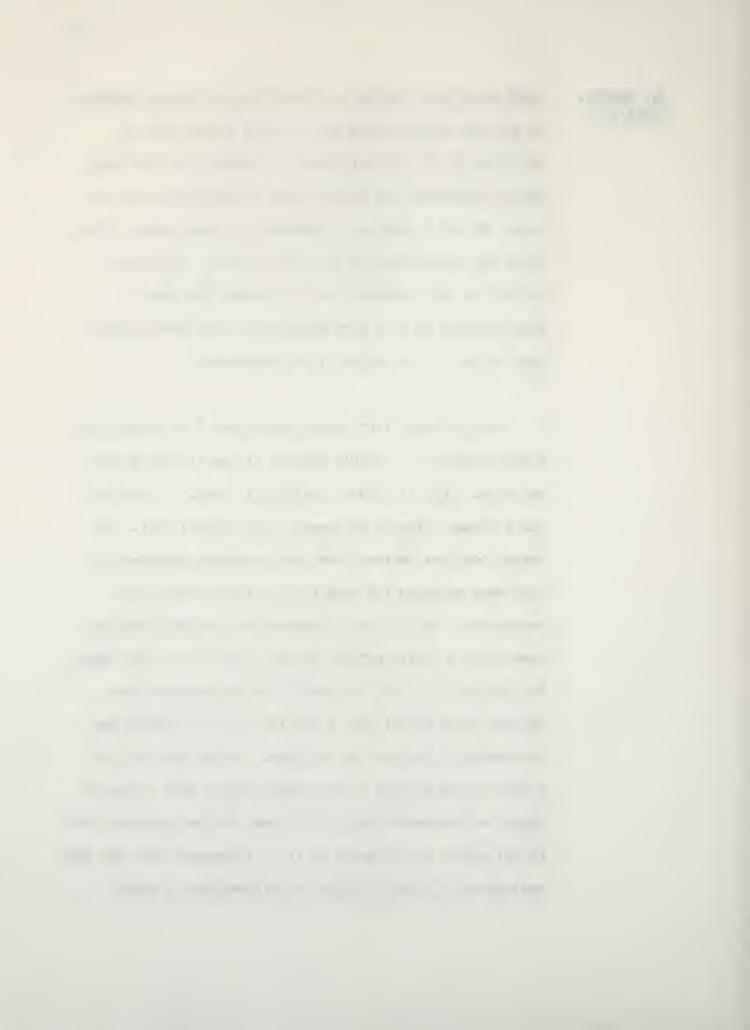
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purposes, particularly in connection with electric heat. Norris was heated electrically from the start. And the only type of electric heaters that could be obtained came from the West Coast. They were sunny radiant or a black type of heater. I think that has been improved on since that time. But they gave adequate heating to the houses which were well insulated even during the cold Tennessee winters. And of course the rate was low so that we could afford to use it. We also tried the experiment of wires in the walls—the radiant heating in the walls, which was new in this country. And we called on the inventor, a Pittsburgh man, to come down and install it. We found that that was not the satisfactory type of heating for that area because of time lag. That is the temperature changes were so considerable from night to day time that it was impossible to set it so that we could control the heat, so we abandoned that. But electric heat with its improvement probably got its initial impetus from the experiments in Norris. Many other things of the same nature we experimented with. freeway we carried outside the immediate town of Norris with connections north and south into the town so that we wouldn't have major traffic to the dam going through the town.

At the same time we established, in the economic field,

staff wage rates for the artisans from the common laborers to skilled laborers. And we came into a good deal of criticism in the city of Knoxville because they had been paying carpenters and brick-layers about thirty cents an hour. We set a rate, as I remember, of about seventy-five cents and proportionally for other trades. Of course it raised our cost somewhat, but it brought the level of wage payments up to a more reasonable level than they had been before at the bottom of the Depression.

One pertinent fact about Norris that I am afraid that I will overlook if I don't mention it now is that Norris was sold. This is after I left TVA in 1940. It was sold for a figure slightly in excess of the actual cost. The actual cost was derived after the customary charge-offs that were employed for benefits to flood control and navigation. And I think it represented (probably cost us) some fifty or sixty percent of the total cost of the town. But the point is that the administration recouped from private sales better than a million and a half which was the charge of the cost of the town. It was the only instance in the history of the United States that I know of where the Government has built a town and has actually sold it and made a little money on it. It happened that the sale was made to a client of mine in Philadelphia to whom I



served as a consultant. So from that time on I guided the private interests which brough Norris in their disposition of the town which was done very satisfactorily and not on the basis of any auction type of resale. The town was later set up under the municipality legislation of the State of Tennessee and gradually taken over by individuals who purchased property with their own control of the town. After all it turned out as a very happy experiment in town planning even though it wasn't as large a type of garden city development that we had hoped to set up.

Now, at the same time that we were giving all the attention to planning and building the town of Norris (and that fall was one of the wettest periods in the history of Knoxville during the construction period) we had all sorts of problems. Most of our inspection work of everything going on had to be done on horseback through the towns since the roads were hardly passable.

We built the town center with the necessary stores and community facilities at one end of the common so that the residents had the ability to purchase needed supplies and so forth for daily use. Of course the bulk of the trading was done in Knoxville.

The community activities were terrific, and probably Reeves can tell you about what went on there and the various types of wood-working shops and other things in which the people that were residents participated. In addition, recreation played a very important part in those days. There were tennis courts built in Norris and there were other types of recreation that were available to people. Coincident with that we gave consideration to the problem of land purchase for the reservoirs. Up to that time it had been the custom of Uncle Sam, either through the engineers or the Department of the Interior, in building dams to acquire land to the low levels of water and easements up to high water level above that. As a result there was no control whatsoever over land use and no direction given to the activities surrounding the reservoir, on the theory in those days that Uncle Sam had no concern with that. It was a matter of private interest. Well, we fought for it and were successful on the Norris reservoir in getting the approval for purchases of land not only up to high water level but beyond.

The initial purchase objective was to control erosion so that nothing would be done that would result in the eroding of the soil, which was serious in that area and clouding up the waters. And then the idea was to make



studies of soil conditions which were done in our division and we had competent geographers who studied that and the best uses of the land, which in many instances consisted of resale under reasonable control to the farmers for their own activities. But there were significantly a number of spots wherever the selection—wherever the type of land justified it for recreational centers for boating and fishing and so forth which were important side effects of the development. Those were developed at a number of points around the Norris reservoir, and later contributed tremendously to the employment of people in the economic benefits rising out of that. But I want to mention that that was the very first instance that I know of where the Government had exerted, not only a reasonable control over the land use around such huge reservoirs, but it adopted the policy of seeing that the land reverted to whatever use was best, largely in private ownership under reasonable controls. The recreation system that followed out of this developement of Norris and all the other reservoirs proved one of the greatest economic gains in the Valley that could have been contemplated.

I remember one international authority coming over from Europe in a group reviewing our activities. He said, "eventually your stimulation of recreation development and



I think, in something like eight thousand linear miles of publicly controlled or zoned plans along the reservoirs) will be the most important economic contribution, more important than the production of electric current." Whether that has turned out exactly that way, would be hard to define, but it certainly has been important. I don't know the figures now on the motor boats, all types of boats, and fishing, and economic returns from that, but they must be tremendous.

Now, one of the things in connection with that and it illustrated, perhaps a situation which we were in, all through our activities, was the difference of opinion that occured as to policies in that way. And I might also mention that those of us who were operating as we were in town planning, and housing and perhaps to a certain extent in the construction of the day (hydro-electric facilities) had to work with the knowledge that there was such basic differences of opinions amongst the three members of the Board that it was sometimes very difficult.

Now, in connection with this reservoir land undertaking we had the complete hostility of the agricultural group in the Authority who favored no purchase whatsoever of land

other than what was actually needed for the waters of the reservoir, leaving the rest for private ownership in any use and anyway desired. And the head of that group, McAmis, who is since dead, God rest his soul, fought vigorously every attempt to do that. He was in the group which was overseen by—who is the other Morgan?

DR. CRAWFORD:

Harcourt Morgan.

DR. DRAPER:

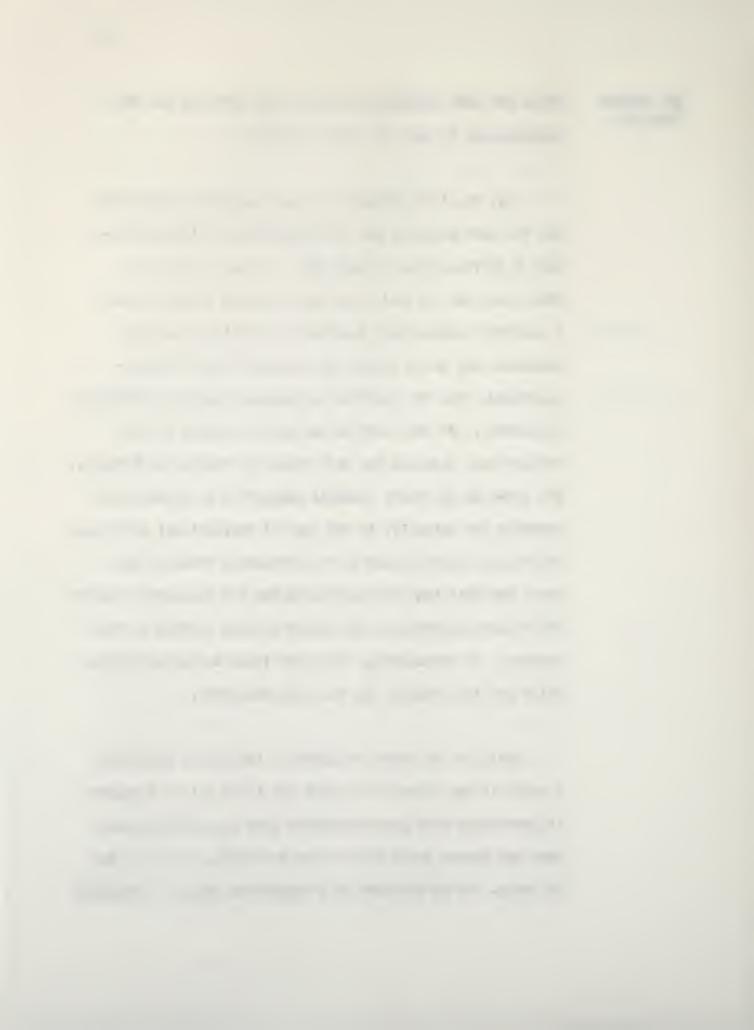
Harcourt. And I will have to give credit to Harcourt that he was very fair about those things and not prejudiced in any way. But McAmis was uncontrollable, as Neal Bass can probably tell you. So we had many fights with him over land use, and he claimed that we were putting the small farmer out of business, which was contrary to fact in every way. We simply wanted to enhance the economic opportunities available for the small farmer in the area. But that struggle went on in many ways. Of course, to a degree it was a reflection on this unfortunate struggle within the Board itself, which finally culminated in the removal of Dr. Arthur Morgan from the Chairmanship. Now, I wouldn't take any side whatsoever in that controversy because all the Board members were good friends of mine and I respected all of them for their abilities. But from the very start there were basic differences of opinion that made it difficult for

those who were operating and doing the planning and the construction in many of their endeavors.

Now, Dr. A. E. Morgan, who was supposedly responsible for the town planning and the housing activities was himself a difficult man to deal with. He was a genius if there ever was one and I pay great tribute to him in that I probably learned more from him in activities and perseverance and doing things than anybody that I ever encountered. But his reaction to proposals was very difficult to predict. At the start he was quite in favor of our recreational planning and the attempt to develop an industry. But later on he became somewhat opposed to it because his interest lay primarily in the type of recreational activities which were characterized by the wilderness ideas of the group who felt that the area set aside for recreation should not be mass recreation, but should be very limited in that respect. In other words, flora and fauna and preservation, which are fine things, was his main objective.

Well, we set apart an island in the Norris reservoir.

I think it was island "F", which was to be left undisturbed in order that they could determine over a period of years what the growth would be in flora and fauna, and so on and so forth. So we had sort of a compromise there. I remember



he exploded one time when we were doing the Big Ridge recreational development, which was one of the developments of the CCC camp. (Interruption)

DR. CRAWFORD:

Are we ready again, Dr. Draper?

DR. DRAPER:

Speaking of Big Ridge before we were interrupted, Dr.

Morgan would rather take an exception to the development
of Big Ridge recreational community, which was done by the
aid of CCC camps. And included a fifty-foot high dam on
one of the estuaries of Norris Lake, and development of
including bathing beaches, riding stables, community centers
and so forth that we had perhaps invited too much in a way
of trampling over natural resources. And, as I said, we
compromised on that by setting aside an island which would
be allowed to grow, untrammeled. And he became reconciled
to the recreational intensified development of some of the
areas designed for that purpose. In that connection we
used some ten or twelve CCC camps all through the Valley,
and in fact could have taken more in various uses of
recreation, forestry development, and so forth.

At that time Conrad Wirth was in charge, a good friend of mine, who became Director of National Park Service later on. And he felt that the use of the CCC in cooperation

with TVA was extremely worthwhile. We went a little outside the actual boundaries at times of the Tennessee Valley. I recall that we sent one CCC camp to Memphis to develop a forestry project, for which my old friend Ed Meeman, was responsible. And the project was just north of Memphis, and I think it resulted in a very worthwhile development, as I have heard of it.

The CCC actually built cabins which were later a part of recreational development and management all through the reservoirs. One very important factor was that TVA built and developed those and got them started operating and then retired, turning those over to state, county, or local jurisdiction so that they became a part of the political structure of the communities and not a dictated development in operation by TVA. I think that is very significant because it shows that much of the activities of TVA in fields related to economic and social improvements were returned to the people so they are legally constituted agencies. The results were very successful.

We had hundreds of visits from people all over the world to see what had been accomplished by TVA not only in the field of development of power, which was remarkable, but in the related developments, which at the start were



very questionable. There was always the question in the minds of the lawyers as to how far we could go other than actual development of facilities on the waterways for flood control and navigation with the production of electric power as a by-product, and carrying this by-product in to other economic and social activities. It took quite a while to get established as one of the purposes of the act and if it had been today and the same sort of thing had been undertaken we would have had no limits, no bounds to what a Federal agency could have done in that field. But bear in mind that these achivements in the field of town planning, community development, recreational programs and so forth, were undertaken at a time when governmental powers were considered to be extremely limited. And in the face of those handicaps, plus opposition within our own board to some of those things gave our group, that was working on that, a rather tough job as it were.

Shortly after the first year when we were finishing the town of Norris and working on various smaller communities the other communities were cut down in size at the various dams, Wheeler and on down the river, because it was felt that the demonstration had been made at Norris and not much more in that field could be justified. We got into a broader field and studied the assets of the Valley—the

relationships and the economic and social growth. At that time the scope of our original land planning and housing division was broadened. I remember that for a long time the Board and Gordon Clapp devoted a great deal of time study to that, but couldn't find a name for it. I suggested that it should be a regional planning division and Gordon quite rightly indicated that planning took place in the other facets of the TVA—in agricultural, and in hydro-electric development and so forth. So the name Regional Planning Studies was finally agreed upon as the expansion of all our division. And we brought in economic and social groups that had been working under Floyd Reeves at that time as part of the Regional Planning Studies. Many of those men have gone out and made names for themselves in their fields such as Harold Miller, who is State Planning Director for the State of Tennessee. He was one of the original members of that group. And we had political scientists, economists, social scientists, as well as architects, engineers, town planners, landscape architects, geographers, all in a group making studies for guidance in the development of TVA to enhance the living standards.

I believe that it is the first time in the history of the country and place in the world that any such wide range of skills have been assembled in one division to tackle a



project of this size. And the library is full of reports and investigations along all lines that were made. There in that were conflicts. We had a very strong geography section, physical geographers mostly from the University of Chicago. Charles Coby was consultant. He was head of the Chicago group, who were determined to allocate the use of land all through the Valley. And we had to bring pressure to bear on that group to show that there were many other factors. That is, the land might be rich in certain minerals and so forth but there might not be any transportation facilities to get it out. So by and large we could not make a superimposed plan nor did we ever attempt to on the use of the resources. It was a plan for guidance to show what the resources were and the way in which private industry largely could bring those resources to bear upon the economic improvement of the people.

And I used to travel a lot and speak a good deal about the objectives of TVA. And I remember I would run into every once in a while people who would say, "well, you are just a socialistic undertaking." And I would say, "well, I couldn't hardly be convinced of that when the main objective was to improve the economic status and to transfer the status of people from dependence on such welfare as there was to a situation where they made a decent living."



As a matter of fact in the hills up there in the areas in which we worked along those rivers, the Holston and the Watauga, there were hundreds and hundreds of families that didn't have a total cash intake a year of a hundred dollars. And they subsisted on very limited resources, and their diet was a reflection of that. Perhaps the only area now where anything of that sort exists is the coal mining sections where the employment is down so. And I have always wished that there could be a study made of TVA taking all the various factors into consideration to show just what the uplift has been whereby the area was transformed into a section where it became a living part of the United States, and not only in production but in consumption because at the time it was supposed to be one of the poorest areas in regard to purchases of things made in the other parts of the United States of anywhere in the country.

I have often been asked what caused the objectives of TVA to be set in the paths that it was and did Senator Norris have a part in it? No, I think from contacts and from what I know that Senator Norris's principal interest was in the power phases of the program and that sections 22 and 23 that gave some play and opportunity for the by-product, social and economic, of the TVA activities was perhaps the reflection of the interest of the President arising out of his

experiences in New York state when he was Governor. But perhaps like so many things that happen in government, the drafting was actually made by somebody well down on the level who put that in the bill from having an interest in it, rather than the higher ups. And I fully believe that a lot of that was more or less accidental and it was the people who took the initiative starting with the Board in various ways that gave the Authority the direction that it had.

I recall later, when I was Deputy Administrator of FHA in charge of war housing, one of the lawyers on my staff, Frank Watson, told me that he was really responsible for the wording of the NRA Act—not the top people. So that is an indication of what happens in government many times. It is the people who do the administering and who are interested perhaps at the lower levels that bring an activity into full relation.

I mentioned a while back the differences of opinion amongst the Board members—the original Board, and the fact that originally since I was selected by Dr. Morgan and my division was more or less under his direction, that at that time there was a parceling out of function and responsibilities in the Board, which probably isn't a good thing and was later

abandoned when they brought in a general manager, Jack
Blandford, being the first one, who had overcharge of that.
And the Board members sat then more as a council.

But originally there was a tendency on the part of the other two board members to regard our activities as A. E. Morgan's bailiwick and sometimes to be hostile to it. As I said, Harcourt Morgan I thought was always very fair even though the agricultural interest were his primary interest. And David Lilienthal, who came in there with the production of cheap current as his basic objective later on became one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the town planning and the regional planning approach we took. In fact some of the activities that were finally carried on, like the expansion of the reservoir program, couldn't have come about without Lilienthal's assistance.

Well, now do you have any questions that you can think of?

DR. CRAWFORD: Yes sir, let's go back over a few of the details.

DR. DRAPER: Have I more or less gone in the way that you wanted?

DR. CRAWFORD: Yes sir, it has been a very good summary.

DR. DRAPER:

Of course there is a lot of things that I will think of when you are gone in all probability. But it is just a matter of recollection. You can't put that down in the treatise sort of paper or that sort of thing, I believe. You have got to talk from recollections and backgrounds. So go ahead.

DR. CRAWFORD:

I wonder about your very first contact with the TVA, when you had the first meeting with Arthur Morgan. Let's see, that was early in '33, perhaps May or early June? You were staying at the Cosmos Club and you received word that Dr. Arthur Morgan was looking for you then.

DR. DRAPER:

He phoned me in Charlotte.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Where did you meet him?

DR. DRAPER:

I met him at the Cosmos Club. He came over to the Cosmos Club, as I recall. It might have been the Washington Hotel but I think he came on over because he was a member of the Club too. And I met him in one of the rooms there.

DR. CRAWFORD:

What sort of meeting did you have? What was your first impression of Arthur Morgan?

DR. DRAPER:

My first impression was that here is a peculiar kind of guy. He has a great record though of engineering development, but I can't quite make him out—the questions he asked and the track that he took. And I said to him at the time, "well, you want a town plannter." I said, "there are some town planners better known that I am in the East that I know are very much interested in this job." And I mentioned my former employer, John Nolen, and I mentioned some of the others in New York.

And he said, "that is the kind of a man that I don't want." He said, "I don't want anybody coming in with an alien philosophy to try to tell us what to do and what interests me is that I talked with (I think he mentioned Fred Johnson down in Kingsport, Tennessee), and I think you are the kind of a man who knows the South, has lived in the South, who can understand local conditions and won't be dominated by a clique or a group that is preconceived in the notions of what has to be done down there." And I said, "well, that may be true." I said, "give me time to think it over and if you think that I can do the job then I am certainly interested." At that time I hadn't made up my mind whether I would take it or not. I got back there and it meant moving my family from a well established location in Charlotte and turning over my private work to

an associate, but as I said, I did it because I felt that that was a chance that comes once in a lifetime in a professional field.

So I think it was within a week that I told him that I would take it. He said, "all right. Go ahead. We will work out details later on the employment and so forth." He said, "we will probably have to pay close to the top salaries in government circles. And cabinet members were at ten thousand dollars, you know. And you and Reeves will be up at the top of the mark and so forth." So he said, "let's just go to work and see what we can do." And I think Arthur Morgan has one of the most original approaches to problems of anybody I ever met. And sometimes he would state an approach with which I was completely in disagreement. And sometimes he would open up new fields in something they hadn't thought about. So I think the term genius is applicable to him.

And there was a little quirk in his character which was exemplified in his final difficulties with the Roosevelt administration, which kept him from going a long ways farther than he did. But he had a terrific impact on everybody that worked with him. Now, if he had one fault, and perhaps Mrs. Morgan was responsible, it was to give a

preference wherever he could to Quakers. Now, I have no objection to Quakers whatsoever but he brought in one or two of the darndest stuffed shirts in the name of Quakerism that I ever saw. And they didn't do any great harm to the program but they didn't make any great contribution. He had a forester there who was a Quaker who did quite a good job at the start, Ned Richards. Ned was one of those who was put in jail for refusing to go along with the war activities in the Second World War. But we had down there a most remarkable group of people that had ever been assembled in the country in an activity of any kind. I don't care what it is. Absolutely no political consideration was given to any employment.

As I remember Frank Carr told me one time that he had a violent argument when he was sitting next to the Post-master-General, who was in charge of all politics, that we were going on the wrong track and not giving consideration to. . .

DR. CRAWFORD:

Jim Farley?

DR. DRAPER:

Jim Farley. To politics. But so far as I know, and you know it is written into the act, there was a mandatory requirement that required the President to fire anybody that

was found to have given political preference. As far as I know none of the Board members or anybody else ever gave consideration to political preference, and that made the people like Jim Farley mad as hell.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Did you know anything of TVA or of Arthur Morgan before your meeting at the end of May?

DR.DRAPER:

I had read of TVA because I remember reading about Congress having passed the Act, and that Senator Norris was the one so closely associated by it, but I never heard about Arthur Morgan until he phoned me.

DR. CRAWORD:

As a Republican, what did you think of this TVA type of Act before you became acquainted with it?

DR. DRAPER:

I had my fingers crossed. I had seen so many government agencies set up that hadn't amounted to very much when they were set up under the guidance of political activity. And I didn't really know what the intentions were, and it wasn't until Arthur Morgan explained what he hoped to do and what the situation was down there that I got some concept of what could be accomplished. And I continued to feel that unless the right man had been given charge of that undertaking and that they had assembled the working staff that

could do it then it would be a mediocre performance. It could have been a very medicore performance of merely building a few dams and being content to sell the power at the dam, and doing nothing else—no other consideration given to people, or land, or resources, or anything else.

DR. CRAWFORD:

it?

Then leadership had a great deal to do with it didn't

DR. DRAPER:

I claim that leadership had ninety-eight percent to do with it. And the very fact that there was a little innocuous part of the Act that said that consideration can be given to economic and socially related activities without stumbling around without giving any indication of how far you could go, that gave the opportunity. Now, anybody like you who comparatively couldn't realize the situation at that time with the respect of what Government could and could not do. It was so spelled out that it would be almost heresy to think of Government doing anything like that. Well, you take for instance the original Homeowners Loan Corporation. When somebody talked about making Government loans to rescue individuals, who were having their mortgages foreclosed on their homes, the majority of people said, "well, what the hell use is Government doing messing up with peoples lives like that?" And if you compare that to this day and time of scant thirty-seven years later you can realize

how much change there has been in the political picture in the United States and the relation with Government and people.

The Homeowners Loan Act was set up under Hoover and was one of the finest Acts ever set up. But if it hadn't been for old John Feay, who was head of it, and his talking it to the people and saying, "we are going right down to the grass-roots and rescue some of those people who are being sold out," we might have had a Government agency that had no particular impact on the people—if they had dealt only with institutions. That was my objection to FHA when I got up there in 1940. The powers-to-be in FHA felt that they were related only to financial institutions and not the people; and to a considerable extent I succeeded in changing that picture in FHA. Although, the War came on and I didn't go as far as I would have liked to have gone.

DR. CRAWFORD:

When did you do your first work for TVA and what was it? Was it after you arrived at Knoxville? Were you able to start anything before you went to Knoxville?

DR. DRAPER:

Well, I made several trips to Knoxville during the summer when we were headquartered in Washington. And on one of those trips I conferred with Major Neyland, when he

took over the activities in the Norris basin, and I started some of the investigations. I had some men down there investigating the terrain and the location of a possible camp and town. We spent a lot of time looking into that. I had a young man, Bradner, in charge of that who was down there all during the summer using a plane and traveling around and making investigations of the terrain and the opportunities.

You know, it is very very hilly country down there as you recall. And picking a site for the community in relation to the dam and in relation to the approaches and the camp wasn't an easy job.

DR. CRAWFORD:

What factors did you consider in selecting a site?

DR. DRAPER:

Well, we considered largely the lay of the land and we disabused the engineers immediately of the fact that they felt that it had to be located right at the dam. We said, "there is no reason why it can't be, as it was finally located, several miles from the dam. There is an adequate roadway connecting it." I said, "that will leave the surroundings around the dam for recreations use and making it attractive."

T .

But we picked the center of the town of Norris largely from the standpoint of the topography. We wanted it on the side towards Knoxville because it would be more accessible. I realized later that it was probably going to be a bedroom for Knoxville, which it was, until the AEC started their Manhatten project beyond Clinton. After that a good many of the employees of that project bought houses in Norris.

DR. CRAWFORD: Do you know if Norris was studied by the people who laid out Oak Ridge for the AEC?

DR. DRAPER: No. It never had any connection with it. Oh, you mean laid it out afterwards?

DR. CRAWFORD: Yes.

DR. DRAPER:

Well, I don't know. Of course, that came after Norris. They may have had in all probability looked it over but I don't think that it had much effect on it because as far as I know it was just a more or less ordinarily built town for the time that I saw it and saw the housing. It didn't seem to have anything in the way of integrated structure or greem belt, or anything of that kind. I never thought

Oak Ridge had any significance through the standpoint of

town planning. It has been years since I have seen it but that is my recollection of it. Now I would like to compare it with the fact of the impact that the TVA power program was on Oak Ridge supplying power. It wasn't an unpleasant community, as I recall it, and it has been, oh, twenty-five or thirty years since I have seen it. But I don't even know who laid it out. It didn't have anything individual about it.

DR. CRAWFORD:

How long did you work from the Washington Hotel in Knoxville before you had a better headquarters?

DR. DRAPER:

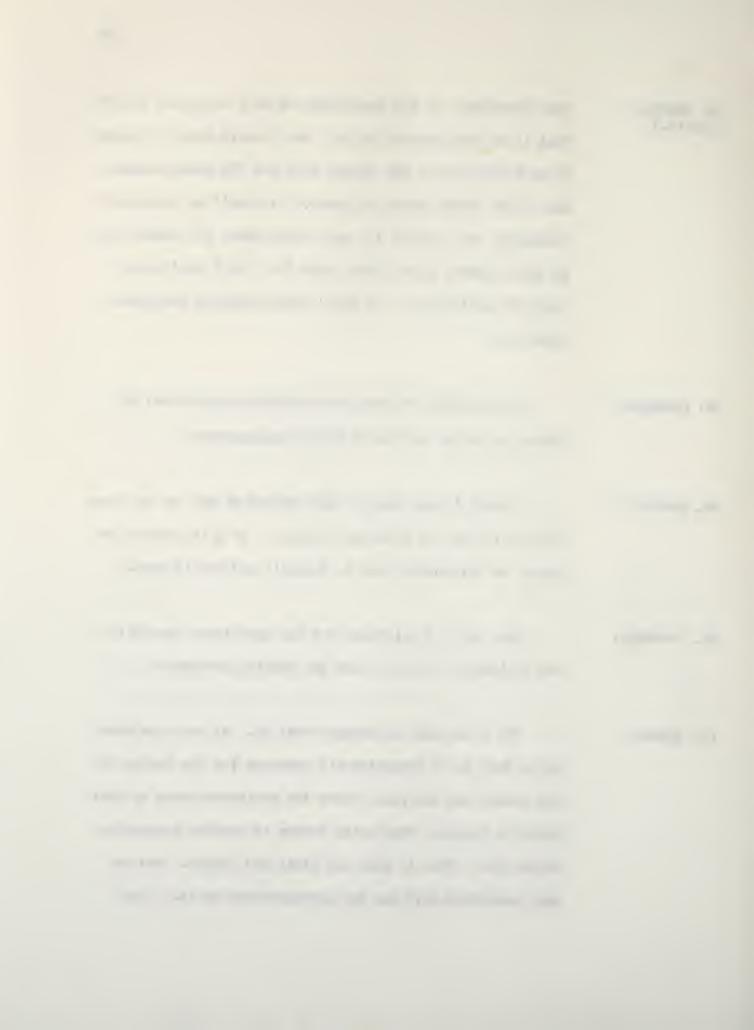
I think it was about a week before we got two or three offices in the old Interior Building. We quit putting the papers on the double beds in Morgan's and Bock's room.

DR. CRAWFORD:

What sort of relations did the architects have with the engineers? Did you have any working problems?

DR. DRAPER:

Oh, I am glad you brought that up. At the time when Rolan Wank and I presented his sketches for the design of the Norris dam and power house the engineers threw up their hands in horror. They said, "there is nothing attractive about that. That is just too plain and simple. And we want something that has got ornamentation to it." The



engineers has plans. Red can tell you about those. They probably had plans to make a Gothic Cathedral out of the power house at Norris dam. Perhaps a replica of the Parthenon or something like that. And we stuck to it. We said, "that's clean and simple. It is the use of these stone faces with striation of perpendicular." You know how that is, you see it in some of these pictures here.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Yes. I have seen more of them recently.

DR. DRAPER:

Yes. And we said that is the wave to the future. is the sort of thing that is justified by structures of that sort. Well, they couldn't agree. And A. E. Morgan was torn between us. His engineers wanted to build a typical type of thing that Charles T. Main and the others had always advocated. And he said, "well, I am going to send your Mr. Wank to Detroit and an engineer with the sketches." (I can't remember the name of the big architectural firm but it is one of the biggest in the United States) "and see what their judgement is." Which he did. And lo and behold, that engineer said that Wank's sketches and designs and ideas are superior and that is what kept us from building Gothic facades—athenaeums or whatever you have on it. I can't remember his name. He was a well-known engineer. He did all the Ford work and everything—the architecture.

What was Harry Tour's work in building?

DR. DRAPER:

Harry Tour was an engineer in Parker's division. He lived out of Norris. He was a very nice chap and I don't recall his detailed responsibilities other than to know that he was in that group. And he worked with Wank a good deal. But you know that the very fact that we, the land planning and housing design group, were given some responsibilities in connection with the preparation of design for the dam power-houses was unique. That was A. E. Morgan's idea. It was typical of the man. He wanted to get as many presentations as he could. He didn't want to leave any avenue unexplored. And that gave us the toe-hold in the door to get in.

DR. CRAWFORD:

That was his usual approach to problems wasn't it?

DR. DRAPER:

That was, yes.

DR. CRAWFORD:

To seek all sorts of suggestions.

DR. DRAPER:

I remember in building the new town of Norris, he was somewhat concerned because costs were some fifteen or twenty percent over the estimate. And I prepared a very careful analysis showing him that the estimates had been based on lower wage rates and that I thought, if anything, less than

what would have been expected with the increases that we paid to labor. He said, "I believe that we can do better on housing." And he got up some sketches for some block houses there and we had a time convincing him and we finally did, that they were nothing but slums. They had exposure on one side only—one of three—and back to back. And I said, "they are fire traps and slums." And I think one thing Morgan liked about me was that I was perfectly frank. I didn't yes him in any way, shape or manner like a lot of them did. If I didn't like something he said I told him so right off the bat because after all if he didn't like me he could fire me, as far as that goes. And he saw it.

I will tell you this about him. He would go off on a tangent and come up with some of the derndest solutions.

But you could persuade him if they weren't good.

DR. CRAWFORD:

You found him reasonable to work with?

DR. DRAPER:

I didn't find him reasonable to work with, no. I found sometimes that he was taking an unreasonable approach but I found that in the last analysis if you had the courage and showed him that he would accept it. You see the difference?



Yes. What about your relations with the Civilian Conservation Corp?

DR. DRAPER:

CCC?

DR. CRAWFORD:

Yes.

DR. DRAPER:

Very happy. As I say Connie Wirth was the head of that group in Washington. And I had Sam Brewster, who was the Fish and Game Commissioner of the State of Tennessee. I took him on in charge of the CCC camp and Sam did a terrific job. They had their responsibilities for the design. They did that. Their separate architectural engineering unit designed these recreational areas and these community projects and went ahead and built the cottages, and the cabins, and installed the utilities and surprisingly enough we didn't get any adverse comment from the labor unions on that. I guess perhaps they weren't strong enough to do it. And the relations were very good. We had, I think, from ten to twelve full-complemented camps scattered over the valley doing improvement work. The relations were not so good with the agency that Harry Hopkins ran. What was that where they put people to work on. . . . I forget what it was. But anyway they were on relief. They were the relief workers, do you remember?

Was that the WPA?

DR. DRAPER:

Yes, yes. The WPA. And they had a representative in Tennessee and I remember they sent about a thousand people out to build an athletic field for us at Norris adjacent to the school, working with pick, shovel, and wheelbarrow. And when they got their job done I said, "we don't want any more of that." It cost more to build that athletic field than anything we ever did.

Now the CCC was very good. Speckner was the head of the CCC and a very fine chap. He was a labor man you know. He came in and headed it up which is perhaps one of the reasons that labor never protested when they did a lot of the things that the unions now would object to. I remember Speckner very well.

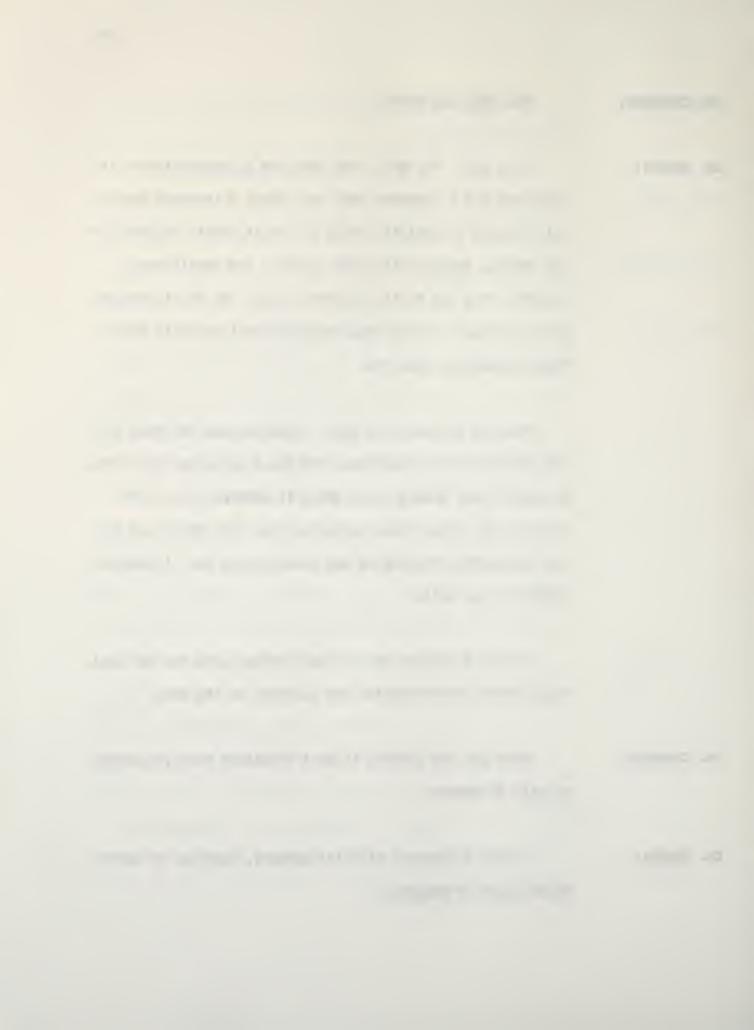
Connie Wirth was the liaison officer with the National Park Service that directed the location of the dam.

DR. CRAWFORD:

What was the project in West Tennessee that you worked on with Ed Meeman?

DR. DRAPER:

It was a forestry wildlife project, some ten or twelve miles north of Memphis.



That would be what they call Shelby Forest I think

DR. DRAPER:

I think so, yes.

DR. CRAWFORD:

A recreational center.

DR. DRAPER:

Yes. Did you know Edward?

DR. CRAWFORD:

No sir. He was retired when I came to Memphis. He died about last year and he left a good deal to Memphis State University.

DR. DRAPER:

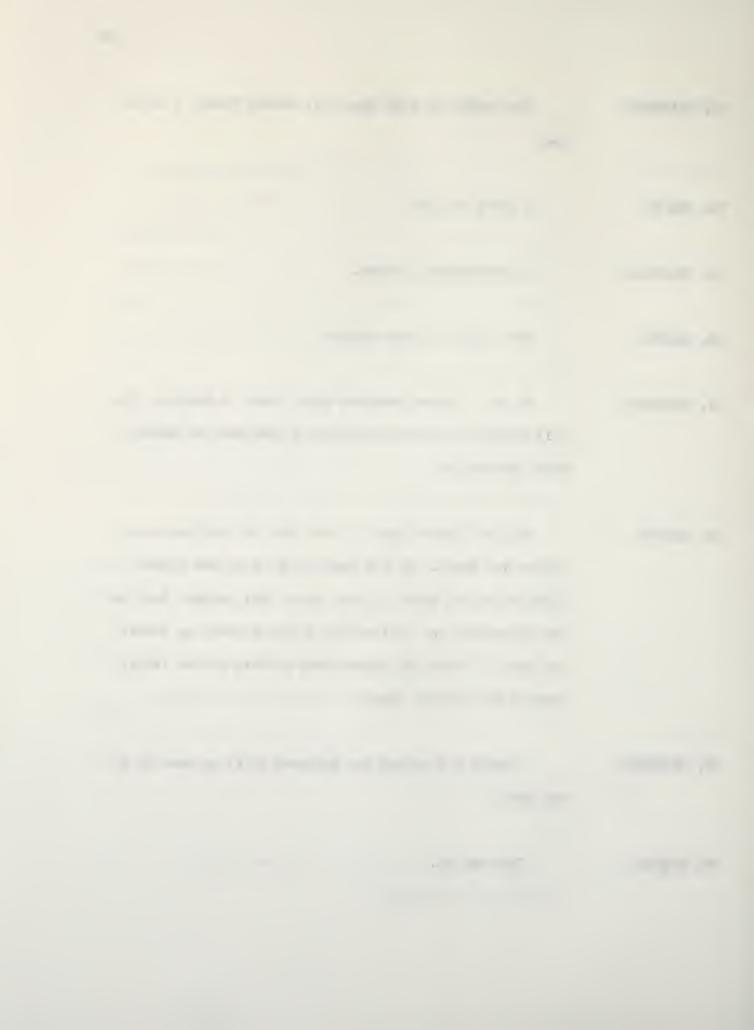
He did, that's good. I saw him, oh, not too long before his death. He had lunch with me at the Cosmos Club and he had always talked about this project that he was interested in. See he had a little cabin up there, you know. I think he deeded some of that to the state, some of his land up there.

DR. CRAWFORD:

I think his estate was adjacent to it or near it at any rate.

DR. DRAPER:

That may be.



What work did TVA do in that? Did you do consultation? Did you study relations?

DR. DRAPER:

No. The CCC supplied the labor and they did all the details. Somebody would occasionally go over there and make suggestions, give directions to the work. But largely we were instrumental in getting the project accepted in the CCC camp—put over the work on it.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Why was TVA so successful in getting their high quality of architectural assistance?

DR. DRAPER:

Because most of the architects were out of work in the country. They were selling apples on Fifth Avenue at that time. We had our choice almost of architects all over the country. I don't know how many of them came to me and wanted jobs. We had to turn down so many.

DR. CRAWFORD:

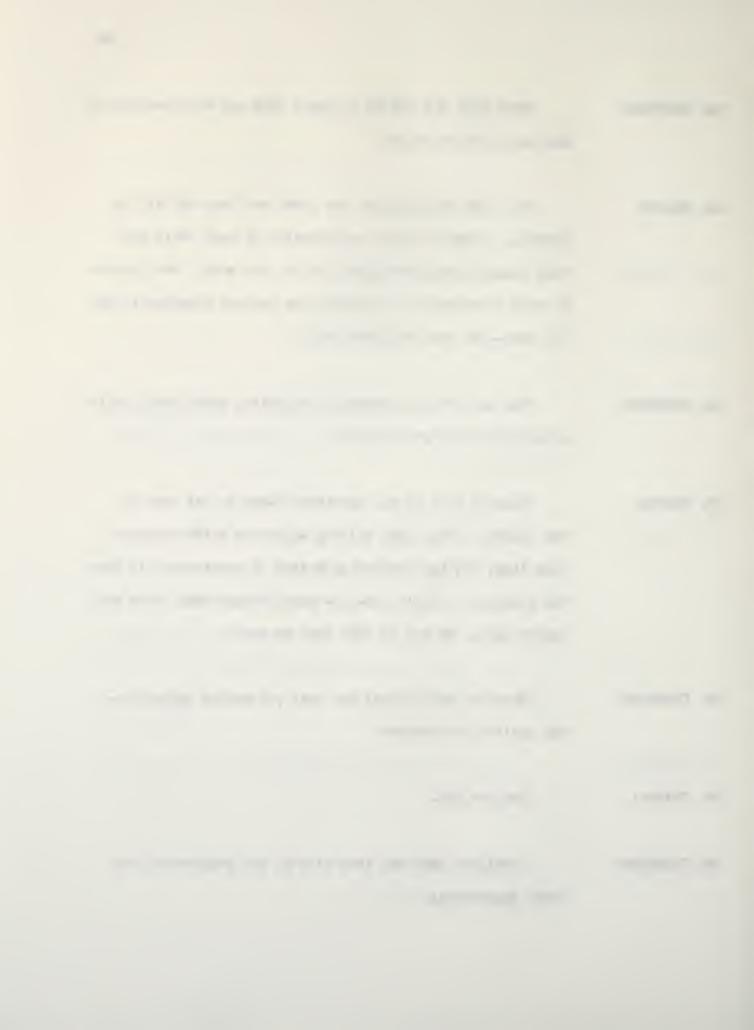
Were you able to get the ones you wanted generally—
the quality you wanted?

DR. DRAPER:

Yes, we did.

DR. CRAWFORD:

I believe that was true also in the engineering and legal departments.



DR. DRAPER:

I think without a question. It was true practically in every department.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Why do you feel that the legal division of TVA held the opinions they did about the very limited responsibilities of the Authority?

DR. DRAPER:

Well, not being a lawyer I am probably not qualified to give a definitive answer to that. But the whole history of governmental relationships outside of the knowledge field had been difficult to extend and the Supreme Court for some years had been pretty rigid in that respect. So that Larry Fly, Joe Swidler and his group, who handled it knew they had a very tough job in expanding the legal field, which was one reason that we were held down in Norris after we had made plans for a much more extensive undertaking and limited strictly to the amount of money that would have been devoted to building a camp and railway and so forth to service the dam. And I shudder to think what would have happened if that decision had gone the other way. There are so many improbables in the whole thing. That is if we hadn't had the right men in the right spot at the right time to do things. This is what makes me feel that accomplishments in the Federal Government are so greatly related to the people that actually handle it.

And going on from TVA to FHA I came up into FHA with supposedly the second spot from the top man who was a stodgy old lawyer, who had no concept of the possibilities of FHA and was very content to work in a very limited filed. FHA could have been made a terrific medium of improvement for housing more than it was. But the initiative and brains weren't there to do it.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Well, housing now is considered much more of a governmental responsibility you know.

DR. DRAPER:

Oh, absolutely.

DR. CRAWFORD:

What has happened, could have then.

DR. DRAPER:

with the time Strauss came in from the New York State on public housing. You see we were in FHA which is the insurance of private housing. And Strauss did quite a lot. He made a lot of mistakes. He built these gigantic high-rise apartments that are the slums in New York now. And some of the things we advocated in the way of the approach to public assistance were adopted twenty years later. I have got some books downstairs that we wrote on what should be done that they did twenty years later, that have been accepted. So I think that men make the opportunities in the administration in government from the other way around.

Well, that was true in TVA, certainly and TVA started out it seems to me with a rather loosely written guide.

DR. DRAPER:

It surely was.

DR. CRAWFORD:

And with three very powerful—certainly two very powerful—people in the original Board.

DR. DRAPER:

Yes, Harcourt Morgan was a swing man.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Harcourt Morgan?

DR. DRAPER:

Yes. He was a swing man. There was terrific enmity right from the start between A. E. Morgan and Lilienthal. It was very unfortunate.

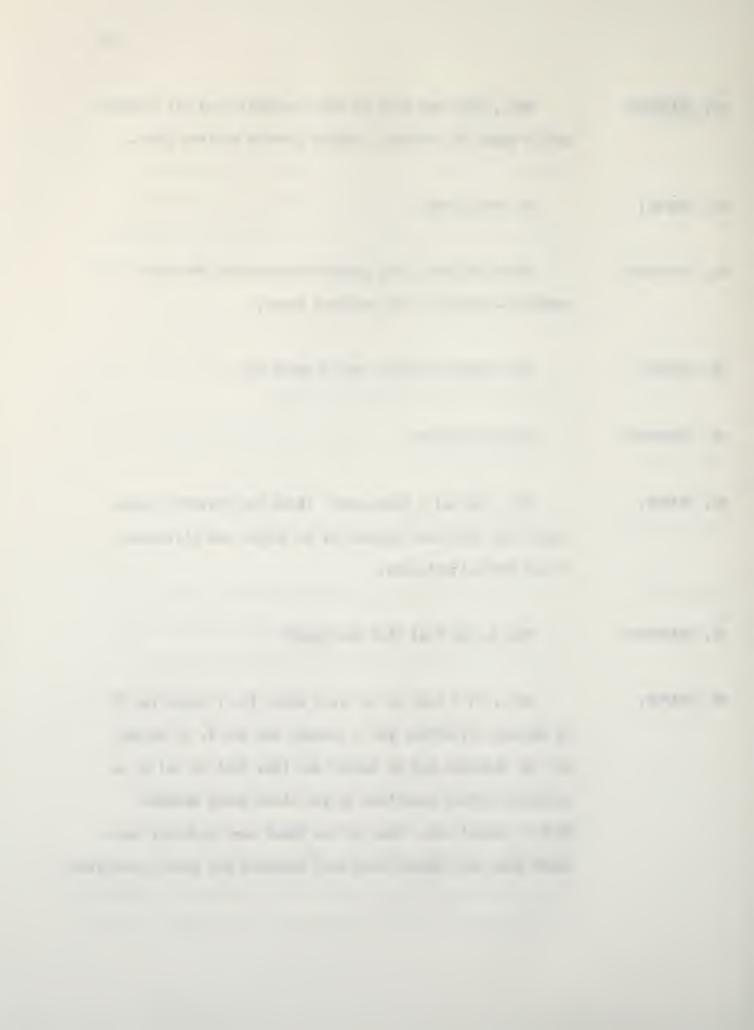
DR. CRAWFORD:

Why do you feel that developed?

DR. DRAPER:

Well, if I have to be frank about it, I would say it is because Lilienthal was a younger man and A. E. Morgan was the Chairman and he wanted any idea that he had to be accepted without questions by the other Board members.

That is honest now. Some of his ideas were probably sabotaged when they should have been accepted but almost invariably



at that time the votes on issues in the Board were A. E. Morgan versus two others.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Well, that conflict did develop quite early didn't it?

DR. DRAPER:

Oh, very early, yes.

DR. CRAWFORD:

And I believe that Harcourt Morgan and David Lilienthal responded to it or dealt with it by forcing its Board decision in July concerning the division or responsibility.

DR. DRAPER:

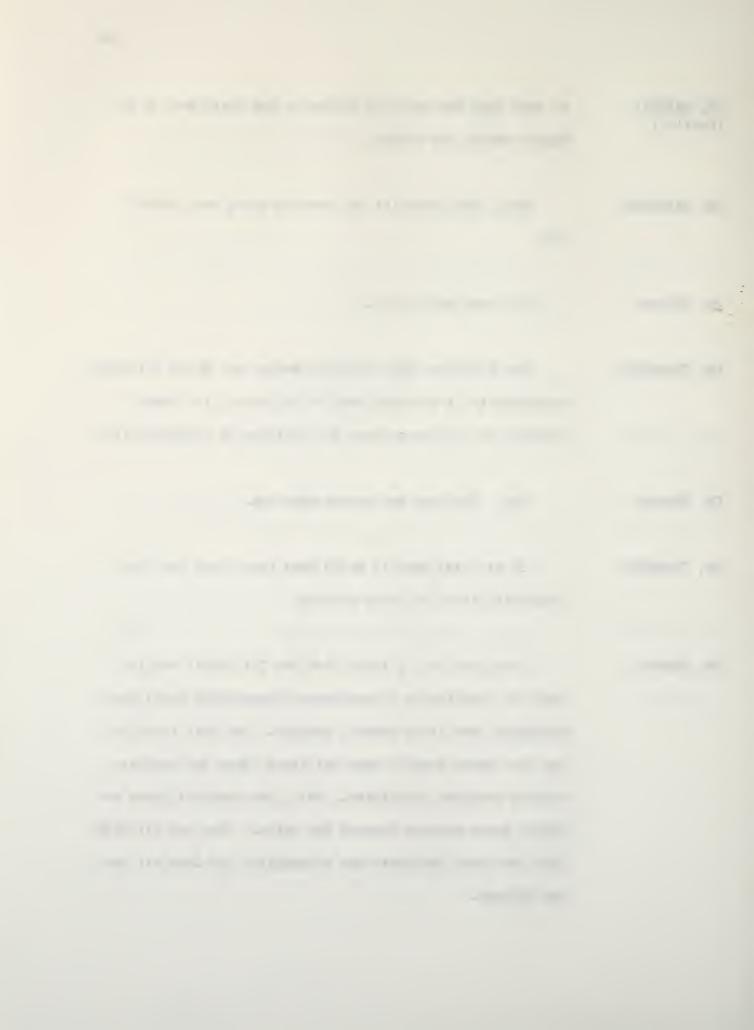
Yes. And that was unfortunate too.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Do you feel that it would have been wiser had the responsibilities not been divided?

DR. DRAPER:

Very much so. I think that the TVA didn't really begin to function as a coordinated undertaking until Jack Blandford came in as General Manager. Now that isn't to say that there weren't some brilliant ideas and some excellent programs instituted. Well, you couldn't force the public power program through the thing. That got off right from the start and there was a beautiful job done all the way through.



And the construction started early too.

DR. DRAPER:

Yes. But the separation of responsibilities, which

I think would have been about a year or a year and a half
later, was abandoned in favor of the General Manager.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Yes. Coordinator he was called first, I believe.

DR. DRAPER:

And the board became a Board of Governors or Council.

But on the whole, taking everything into consideration I

don't think you could have had any combination of men

and circumstances who would have produced a more worthwhile

achievement.

DR. CRAWFORD:

I have thought that despite the real conflict, they did produce a great deal. You have powerful people who aren't too compatible, but still who turn out a great deal of constructive activity. Why do you suppose Harcourt Morgan sided with David Lilienthal, as I think he did after about July?

DR. DRAPER:

Because I think that he accepted Dave's philosophy and approach to the public power program and the provision of power particularly to cooperatives in agricultural settlements. And Dave accepted his approach to the agricultural

problems that he had. You see Harcourt went in (he was the professor of agriculture then also the President of the University) with the idea of benefiting the farm communities. And he always resisted and sometimes perhaps with reason the taking out of the highly tillable land for reservoirs. Up in East Tennessee they had very little land other than the river bottoms left for the cultivation of crops. And I remember it was pretty hard for him to accept the fact that that land had to be taken and taken out as agricultural. But, he had some of his people, like McAmis, that went too far in their instance that nothing be done to effect the right of private initiation. If McAmis had been a planner, he would have objected to any sort of zoning control of the development of cities on the same grounds.

Now, Neal Bass was sort of the monitor. He was Harcourt's assistant and he tried to hold McAmis in check a little bit. For I used to see Neal when I had problems with McAmis and he would try to work it out. He wasn't always successful.

I was fond of all three of the Board and I was fond of some of the men like McAmis that I had to fight with all the while I was down there.

I believe that this is the sort of thing that we usually get in the complete picutre of the development of TVA.

DR. DRAPER:

I don't know whether you will get that from everybody or not. You may have some people who will hold back on that.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Yes. Many different approaches to the record. Were you familiar with Harcourt Morgan's "Common Mooring" ideas?

DR. DRAPER:

No. What is that? I mean, I don't recall it. I may not have known him at the time.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Well, it is a little difficult for me to understand.

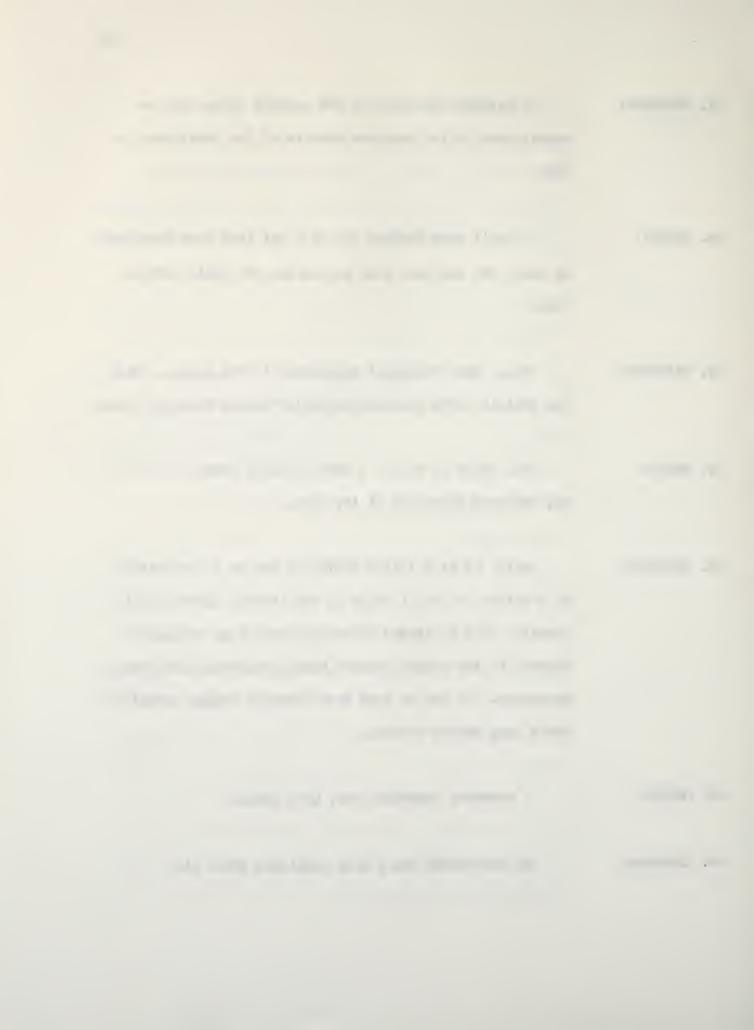
As a matter of fact I think he had trouble expressing it himself. But it seemed to be his idea of an ecological balance in the region between human activities and natural resources. It was an idea that Harcourt Morgan worked on for a long period of time.

DR. DRAPER:

I remember something very very vague.

DR. CRAWFORD:

He eventually had a book published about it.



Well, the Chairman had very strong feelings along those same lines about the relations of natural resources to human environment.

DR. CRAWFORD:

It seemed to me that he and Harcourt Morgan should on the basis of common ideas have gotten along better than they did.

DR. DRAPER:

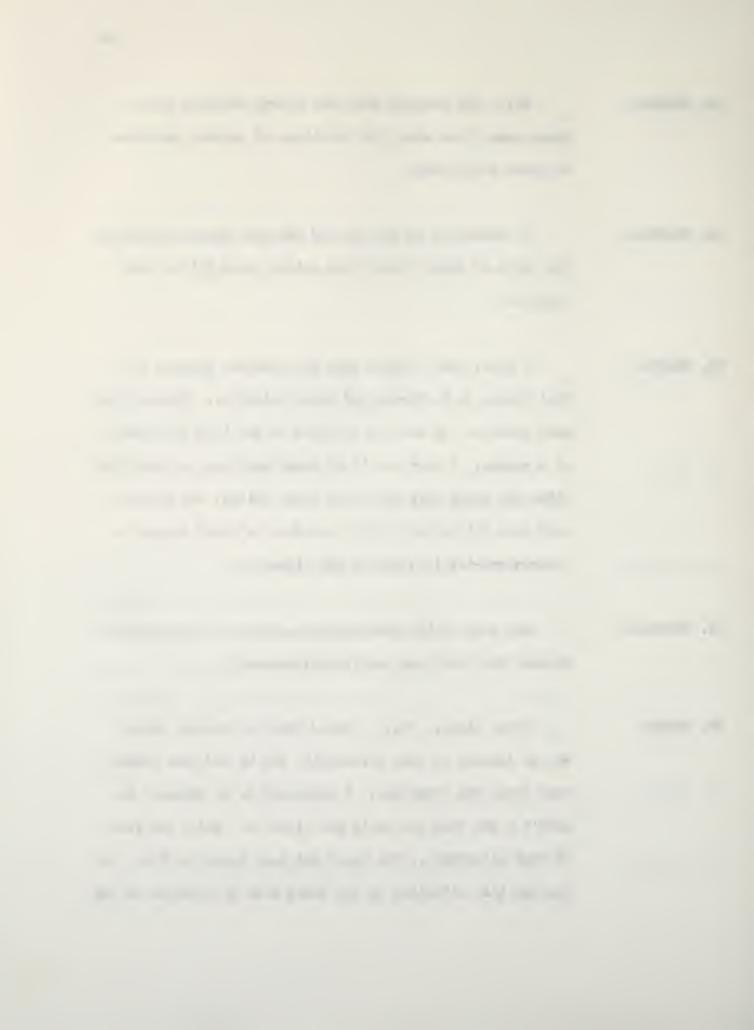
I know. Well, there were two dominant members of that board, A. E. Morgan and Dave Lilienthal. Harcourt was more passive. He was not inclined to get into the middle of a scrape. I have sat in at board meetings and seen the other two argue back and froth about things, and Harcourt said very little until time came when he could suggest a compromise—try to work out the situation.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Was much of his contribution working out arrangements between the other two conflicting members?

DR. DRAPER:

Often times. Yes. I would think so because there was an impasse or very strong will and he and Dave rubbed each other the other way. I respected A. E. Morgan. He wasn't a man that you could get close to. And I was fond of Dave Lilienthal. You could get much closer to him. So you had that situation on the Board with an Olympian on the



heights, and A. E. Morgan with his feeling that if he made a suggestion it ought to be accepted immediately by the other two members.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Was part of this disagreement possibly a conflict of professions between an engineer and a lawyer?

DR. DRAPER:

No, I don't think so. I think it was a personality clash, because after all Dave was a lawyer but he had been in hydroelectric work for years up in the Wisconsin area. And while A. E. Morgan was an engineer, he was probably as well versed in engineering law as anybody in the country, particularly as related to hydroelectric development.

DR. CRAWFORD:

I know that he had drawn up engineering codes occasionally.

DR. DRAPER:

Yes.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Well, do you feel that a relationship with the people of the Valley was an important issue between them? That is whether TVA policies should be made and given to the people or whether the people whould be involved in it. Do you feel that that was an issue?

To a degree it is a start. The people of the Valley resented A. E. Morgan. Harcourt Morgan was the man in whom they trusted because of his relationship with the University and his work in the agricultural field. Rightly or wrongly they felt that Arthur Morgan was going to dominate and hand down various things and they would have to accept it, and they resented him. The honest fact is that his approach to the human problems of the Valley and the poor tenant farmers was, to my mind, more humanitarian than Harcourt's. Harcourt had more or less the feelings that you always had in the Department of Agriculture, you know. But A. E. didn't have quite the ability to make his point from the standpoint of human issues. And despite the fact that he was one of the most humane individuals that I have ever met in his thoughtfulness with respect to people. And what could be done to stimulate him?

Now, when Dave came there, Dave Lilienthal, he was all wrapped up in the power group. And the big issue was getting that low cost power to the people regardless of the relationships to the other thing. He mellowed. He mellowed a great deal. He mellowed to the point where he saw the importance of our program, and town and regional planning, and reservoir land relationships and so forth. And broadened very much. He grew tremendously while he was down there.

DR. CRAWFORD:
(Cont'd.)

Are you familiar with his book, <u>TVA Democracy on the</u>
March, I believe it is?

DR. DRAPER:

It has been a long time since I have seen it but I read it. And he certainly had the ability to express himself in a marvelous way.

DR. CRAWFORD:

That was published in the '40's, and I believe by that time he had an appreciation for many of the aspects of TVA beyond the simple production and the sale of power.

DR. DRAPER:

On the other hand A. E. Morgan and his writings I have read, I have got one of his books and one of his wife's, was unable to express his thoughts in the way that I think he intended to. Is that your impression sometimes when reading him?

DR. CRAWFORD:

I think so. And I believe Harcourt Morgan had even more difficulty expressing his thoughts.

DR. DRAPER:

I know. Well, I never read much of Harcourt Morgan because, I don't know, I just didn't get around to it.

DR. CRAWFORD:

His work, I think, was more technical.

Yes.

DR. CRAWFORD:

And less clear.

DR. DRAPER:

More in the agricultural field and more specialized in that respect. But that was a tremendous era, that period from '33 to '40, in the way of the experimentation and new approaches to old problems. And I don't think the country ever got the benefit out of TVA that it should have. Never. It came-you take from a planning field and my field, the national planning group was set up under the President's uncle, Delano, with Charles Elliott as the Director. They were both good friends of mine but there was a sense of jealousy. They thought A. E. Morgan and the TVA had a private domain. They didn't even like to cooperate. Now, they did appoint me as the Southeastern Regional Counselor for the National Resources Planning Board in order to relate it to their activities. They had a half a dozen of those over the country. But there never was the feeling that they could learn from TVA in any of the agencies of Government and I won't expect any.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Well, that is rather unusual isn't it, because foreign countries learned a great deal from TVA, didn't they?

They learned more than the United States did, much more.

DR. CRAWFORD:

You had a steady stream of foreign visitors, I believe?

DR. DRAPER:

Well, you show me whether the Interior Department, or the War Department, or any of the agencies had problems comparable to those that came up in TVA, even drew anything from TVA, or ever really embodied any of its concepts. They just didn't do it. They didn't bring their activities to the people like TVA did. By the time that I left there in 1940, TVA had practically decentralized into the grassroots, practically all of its activities. And the people of the Valley were then accepting the TVA—something they never did at the start.

DR. CRAWFORD:

What people do you believe were most important in the development of TVA, underneath the Board of Directors, excluding them in the early days?

DR. DRAPER:

In the early days you mean the first years?

DR. CRAWFORD:

The first few years I would say.

DR. DRAPER:

Well, I think John Blandford, the Coordinator, had a

major part in it. I think the legal division with the quidance they had from John Lord O'Brian in their approach were very important. I think the power division there did a remarkable job in their responsibility to the public. And I think that our division of Regional Planning Studies, in trying to give a background in the approach to many of the planning concepts over the Valley, did a great deal and were increasingly effective in connection with the direct administrative work of other divisions. We had everybody ranging from Benton McKye, whom you know is still alive and one of the old time philosophers of the country, on the staff, to architects, economists, and sociologist working their respective fields. And I will say this for A. E. Morgan, there was rarely any program that was developed that he didn't look around and see if we could make a contribution to it. And that wasn't true of the others. We would have to find out about the other programs, particularly the agricultural program. They wanted no part of any plans at all. They had their paths determined. The county agents were working with them. They were working on programs in the way that they always have.

DR. CRAWFORD:

I believe that your part-planning recreational development and so forth had become much more important with the passing of time. But did you find difficulty in carrying

DR. CRAWFORD: (Cont' d.)

out your ideas? Did you find increased difficulty as the '30's went on?

DR. DRAPER:

Yes.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Why did that happen?

DR. DRAPER:

Because of the feeling in the Harcourt Morgan's group below him, McAmis, that we were interfering with the rights of the private farmers in the country in almost everything we did. They didn't want anything dictated. They didn't want any direction. They didn't want any attempt to show them what should be done. I remember arguing with McAmis about it, and he said, "you will ruin the small farmer. You are going to tell him what to do with his land when he ought to be able to do what ever he damn well wants with it."

Yes. At the start we had a large area in Norris and then in some of the other reservoirs they tore it down.

And then towards the last of the seven year period when I was there the tide turned the other way. Our ideas became more accepted and when I left with Menhenick in charge (he is in Atlanta) we went back to the original concept of that.

How did David Lilienthal feel? What position did he take in regard to the disagreement between the recreational development and the agricultural part?

DR. DRAPER:

Well, at first he was very passive. He was inclined not to enter into it. And I think it was largely because at that time there was a schism developing whereby he needed Harcourt Morgan's assistance in connection with the disagreements on the Board. But as he became acquainted with it and saw particularly what convinced him was that the contribution that Wank had made in the acceptance of the architectural designs for the dams and power houses and along those lines he became convinced that our approach was the most forward-looking approach and so told me. And from then on he was with us on practically everything we wanted to do. When was the year that Dr. Morgan was removed?

DR. CRAWFORD:

Thirty-seven, I believe.

DR. DRAPER:

It was as late as that?

DR. CRAWFORD:

And the Congressional investigation followed, I think, in '38. Thirty-six was the year of the unified report, wasn't it?

Yes. I remember the Congressional investigation that took the time of practically all of the agriculture, and the power, and the engineers to testify and get that material together. We had relatively little on that. They seemingly didn't care about the overall concepts. They wanted to dig into the specific programs.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Do you feel any of that investigation was harmful or helpful to TVA when it was all over? I know it was quite an ordeal at the time.

DR. DRAPER:

Well, I don't think that it had much effect one way or the other except to take up an awful lot of time. I don't think that there were any positive results, and part of that is just my conception from the sidelines. It was more or less a vindication of TVA but it left us in the same position that we were before. Those who objected to it still objected and those who were for it were still for it.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Do you think the experience of having to study and justify all of TVA's programs were helpful in any way?

DR. DRAPER:

I think it was harmful in setting us back in our timing. I think there was so much time devoted to that that other things suffered.

How much division was there in the Authority when Arthur Morgan's difficulty with the President became acute and the dismissal became apparent?

DR. DRAPER:

Well, I don't suppose more than a small fraction of the personnel sided with him. They felt that he had gone too far and that he was unreasonable in the position that he had taken at that time, and the issues that he put up to the President, which didn't have to be put up in that way. I don't think he should have forced Roosevelt to take the position that he did. But it reached the point where his disagreements with the others were so great that I guess he felt that he couldn't continue.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Do you think it was a matter of principle on his part, a feeling that some things could not be compromised?

DR. DRAPER:

Very definitely that was the way he worked. And even small things. He was not a compromiser and Harcourt Morgan was a great compromiser. But Arthur Morgan would pursue the smallest thing down if he felt that that was the matter of principle even if it was the question of how many times a day he sharpened lead pencils. Little things.

DR. CRAWFORD:

I believe that Arthur Morgan indicated in some of his

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DR. CRAWFORD: (Cont'd.)

writing that there were times when he was, I suppose, emotionally indisposed a little, found it difficult to feel the things. Did you notice any evidence of anything like that in this time of difficulty, '37 or so?

DR. DRAPER:

Well, I think so. I think it was true all the way through like geniuses and great men with their idiosyncrasies. They are sometimes unable to focus on the issue at hand and their emotions carry them away. Is that a fair statement?

DR. CRAWFORD:

Yes sir, I think so.

DR. DRAPER:

In all that I have been saying about him, I have the greatest admiration for him. I think he had perhaps more effect on the development of some of my capacities than anybody. And I would be willing to tell him that, even when I criticize or take issue, he probably would say the same thing about me. He criticized me.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Well, I suspect that he . . .

DR. DRAPER:

I don't know whether he did it or not. Did he have any references to me?

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I don't remember, sir. None critical. I know he did discuss the planning work along with other aspects.

DR. DRAPER:

Let's put it this way, we would get together, we would argue over a point, the thing would be settled and we would forget it. I had no trouble getting along with him. I wiould disagree with him but I had no trouble getting along with him as some of the fellows did. They couldn't make it.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Did you have a fairly close relationship with most of the people in TVA headquarters? Were you able to see them frequently to discuss things?

DR. DRAPER:

Oh, yes. There was no problem there at all. We were all working in that New Sprankle Building. I think the Board and the chief administrators were all on one floor at that time. Oh, occasionally you might have a little delay in getting in to see somebody like Jack Blandford.

DR. CRAWFORD:

You had no significant part of your work centered at Muscle Shoals or Chattanooga, then?

DR. DRAPER:

Chattanooga was the power plant headquarters. That is, gradually they transferred the power functions there.

Muscle Shoals was a fait accompli and there was very little

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that we had to do. We did some of the design around Wheeler Dam but as I recall except for some town planning in Muscle Shoals for some additional houses, (improvements to the old houses) we did very little there. Pickwick came along later. We had quite a little in the way of recreational design at Pickwick. But by the time we were concentrated on overall studies of the Valley and the relationship of the resources to the people.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Why did you leave the TVA at the time that you did, Dr. Draper?

DR. DRAPER:

Because my feet were up on the desk. I thought much of the original thinking had been done. It was purely a case of administration of the power authority, which it was.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Do you feel that the challenge was mainly over by that time?

DR. DRAPER:

Yes. I wasn't interested in this. It wasn't personalities or anything. As far as that goes I could have stayed on and probably retired there but I just felt that we were getting in a more or less of a—I don't call it humdrum existence, but without much scope or opportunity of going

DR. DRAPER: (Cont'd.)

in to the sort of things that interested me. And when this opportunity came up in FHA to expand their operations, I took it.

DR. CRAWFORD:

I believe that . . .

DR. DRAPER:

Then I got sidetracked on war housing. FHA had war housing all over the country.

DR. CRAWFORD:

I believe that the real period of development of TVA was over by the late '30's.

DR. DRAPER:

I think so. I overstayed, perhaps a year beyond, just waiting to see what might develop.

DR. CRAWFORD:

I believe the next major development after that was World War II and its changes that it brought in it.

DR. DRAPER:

That's right. That's right. And then of course they became primarily interested in supplying power for the Manhattan project and they had to cancel, I think, a good many secondary contracts.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Were you aware of any budgetary problems during the time you were there? Was there difficulty getting sufficient

DR. CRAWFORD: (Cont'd.)

financial support for TVA? And within TVA was there difficulty in getting funds for your work?

DR. DRAPER:

The answer to both questions is yes. We always had limitations. We very rarely set up a project and were able to get what we wanted. We would have to make do with less than we would like.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Were you always able to, or were you generally able to, carry your projects through?

DR. DRAPER:

Yes. Pretty generally. You take this one that resulted in this. This was quite an expensive project. Have you seen that "Scenic Resources of the Tennessee Valley?" That is something that took two or three years of photographing and mapping and investigation. We carried through pretty well on everything we wanted. We sometimes had to postpone it or use less funds than we liked. That is something your park service and others should have taken advantage of and I doubt very much if they have.

Then there was somebody from Washington that was in connection with this Appalachian program planners that were supposed to take charge of their resources and opportunities. He had never heard of this, and I called it to his attention. He didn't even know that it existed.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Why do you believe other Government agencies made no more use of TVA?

DR. DRAPER:

Well, purely from the planning field there was a jealousy. Very definitely that existed between the planning agency in Washington, which is variously defined as the National Resources Planning Board and the National Planning Board, that TVA had accomplishments that without shyness surpassed them. That, I think, that Governmental jealousies to a considerable extent were responsible plus the inertia that develops out of an established procedure like in the Chief of Engineers and the building dams and water and so forth and so on. They are reluctant to go outside. It is almost like going to a different country to some of these agencies to take advantage of another agency.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Did you notice any of that inertia—that bureaucratic tendency—developing in TVA in the time that you were there?

DR. DRAPER:

You mean in relation to other agencies?

DR. CRAWFORD:

Yes.

DR. DRAPER:

No, I think TVA was always more than willing to expose its records and to give its assistance to any agency that asked for it in Federal Government. And there certainly was an expanded relationship and activities with State and local agencies. It increased all the time during that period while I was there. No, I think the fault was the agencies in Washington not wanting to benefit themselves from TVA experience. And I don't think I am being callous in making that statement. You have never been in Government?

DR. CRAWFORD:

No, sir, except in military service.

DR. DRAPER:

Well, if you are ever in one of those, particularly the old-line agencies you find that their routines and procedures are so certain and have been so prescribed that it is almost impossible for them to go outside of their regular scope of activity.

DR. CRAWFORD:

I am familiar with Government agenices in general and I know that to be true. TVA avoided that. Certainly in the early period you have a great deal of initiative and imaginative thinking—new approaches. Did that continue throughout your entire term with TVA? Did you notice any change?

DR. DRAPER:

No. I don't think it did. I think it was strongest during the early years and then I think TVA set up a pattern of procedures, and some of them were excellent, that had to do with relegating activities and functions to state and local agencies, which was very praiseworthy. But I think that, at least until I left in 1940, the scope of TVA's activities was getting in to more or less of a pattern and didn't enlarge. That was very true of the work that we had in our division. And the main reason that I left was the question of administrating rather than attempting to determine some original approach to some of the problems.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Did you notice any tendency in TVA, (in different departments or divisions) to develop their own interests exclusive of the interest of TVA as a whole?

DR. DRAPER:

Yes, I think so. It might have been true in our own division as far as that goes. It was particularly ture, as I said, with the agricultural group, and perhaps to a lesser extent with the engineering. Well, people with certain skills like engineering and architectural and others have been educated in a certain way and they tend to follow patterns. It is rather hard to get away from it.

I know we sometimes forced ourselves to consider some of A. E. Morgan's suggestions even though we knew from experience

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DR. DRAPER: (Cont'd.)

that they wouldn't work out. But we at least did consider them. We just didn't say, "no, we can't do it." We would have to present a statement of explanation.

DR. CRAWFORD:

What about some of his specific ideas? What did you think of his currency idea?

DR. DRAPER:

You mean the wooden money idea? I don't think that ever got any farther than Mrs. Morgan. A. E. Morgan and Mrs. Morgan.

DR. CRAWFORD:

He had had some experience with that, I know, in the Yellow Springs community. A special currency was developed there.

DR. DRAPER:

Yes. It never got outside of TVA and wasn't even generally known in TVA because I think if it had gone to Washington it wouldn't have gotten much of a hearing. To me it was, how shall I put it, it was a drawing within the shell of the agency, rather than expanding to bring in the rest of the country if we had had all the money in circulation and so forth. I couldn't see the advantage of that.

DR. CRAWFORD:

What did you think about his idea of the development of a ceramics industry?

DR. DRAPER:

I thought that was all to the good. And we had quite an experimental laboratory in Norris, you know, on that.

And probably it did some very worthwhile things. I wasn't directly connected with it but that was an investigation of new approaches to use of natural resources.

DR. CRAWFORD:

That seemed to be within the purpose of TVA.

DR. DRAPER:

Well, we thought so. I think they were cut down quite a bit at the last weren't they?

DR. CRAWFORD:

Yes. It was phased out, I believe, at that time.

DR. DRAPER:

Ferris had something to do with that, didn't he?

John Ferris?

DR. CRAWFORD:

Yes. I think that he did. What did you think about

Arthur Morgan's idea of forest breeding (selective development of trees)—tree farming?

DR. DRAPER:

Well, I think it had possibilities. You have got an example, of course, in the Christmas tree culture in the North, which was developed into a tremendous industry. On that there were some attempts made on some of the islands in the Norris reservoir (I don't know how they came out) to stimulate certain types of growth.

DR. CRAWFORD:

I believe a similar, or at least a related program, is under way on a limited basis now in TVA.

DR. DRAPER:

We had responsibilities in that. Of course when we lost our chestnuts to that blight in the South we lost a terrific resource. I can recall back in the '20's when I was staying in a summer home in Blowing Rock, North Carolina the chestnut was used for everything: interior finish, shingles, and everything else. By the time we got to TVA in a very short period of time they were very hard to find.

DR. CRAWFORD:

What was the importance of your work for the TVA in the early period, the first few years? Let me phrase it another way. What do you consider your most important accomplishments for TVA in the time you were there?

DR. DRAPER:

Well, I have named some specific ones.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Which have given you most personal satisfaction?

DR. DRAPER:

Well, I don't think I have ever had that question asked me before. The opportunity to develop a truly livable concept of a community, properly designed, properly protected, in relation to a big undertaking like the dam powerhouse. The opportunity for original thinking in such matters as highways and developing the idea of a rural freeway. The opportunity

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DR. DRAPER: (Cont'd.)

for experimentation on different phases of activity to help develop them, like the electric heat possibility. And perhaps more than anything, the opportunity to introduce the concept of sound planning, regional town planning, to local levels in the Valley.

The opportunity to get planning into the life and understanding of the people in the State and local levels was one of the great things that we accomplished. And I don't think in that area that, well, I won't say that it won't ever be done, but it wouldn't have been done as quickly or as thoroughly as it was done with TVA then.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Do you feel that you would have had comparable experiences had you not accepted the position with TVA?

DR. DRAPER:

No. No, I don't. That sort of thing is a once in a life time opportunity. Now, I think you will find that the majority of people that served in the early days of TVA will say the same thing.

DR. CRAWFORD:

I believe that that was your reason for accepting the position in '33.

DR. DRAPER:

Yes. It wasn't financial. I suffered a drop in income by taking it.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Does your opportunity and experience with TVA live up to your expectations?

DR. DRAPER:

Yes and no. I wasn't able to go as far in the town planning field as I thought we should have done in connection with the reservoir project and has been done in some ways in the things that are now under consideration over there. As far as the recreation field goes, over many objections, we finally accomplished everything that we had hoped for in getting it accepted and in the part of the development of the resources.

DR. CRAWFORD:

Do you know of anything particularly that we should get on the historical record other than what we have gone over to this point, Dr. Draper?

DR. DRAPER:

Well, I will probably thing of things after you are gone, but I have covered it about as well as you could after a lapse of so many years.

DR. CRAWFORD:

It has been a very productive interview, it seems to me.

DR. DRAPER:

You think it has been worthwhile?

DR. CRAWFORD: I certainly do and I want to thank you for it very

much.

DR. DRAPER: It was my pleasure.











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